Interview at 2017 Mises University, Auburn Alabama (Partial Transcript)

- -Taleed Brown, "That Guy T"
- -Tho Bishop, Mises Institute Media Officer
- -George Pickering, London School of Economics student, 2017 Mises Fellow

[Bishop] There's other programs that teach Austrian economics, for instance George Mason up in D.C. They do a lot of great work, but their Austrian economics is still very different from ours. (5:40).

[Brown] A lot of criticisms you hear about libertarian think tanks from non-libertarians is, 'they're not really academics, they're just ideologues," and that there's no academic basis. But the Mises Institute, it's real economics, real economic science. It's not even pushing a liberal or libertarian agenda socially, it's just actually explaining human action and how markets work. (7:00)

[Bishop] Exactly, and one thing is too, we're the one libertarian think tanks out there that doesn't take money from the Kochs. You see that constantly play out, you see this with the book bashing James Buchanan, 'oh all these things are just to push some Koch agenda.' Well again, we're not funded by a single billionaire, though we will take your money

The ideas we have are good, they attract the right people, people that aren't concerned about being in the mainstream, people that aren't concerned about political correctness, that aren't afraid to take stands. They find us attractive. They come here, and we're better off for it. (7:50)

[Brown] Probably the most popular libertarian figure right now on the internet is the infamous, or now infamous, Hans Hermann Hoppe, and you guys are going to actually have him at your event pretty soon right? (video at 11:37)

[Bishop] Yea. On October sixth and seventh, we're celebrating our thirty-fifth birthday. We're doing it in the hometown of Murray Rothbard, also where Ludwig Von Mises taught for several years. We're bringing Hoppe himself, one of his rare U.S. appearances these days . ..

It's amazing to see the impact that memes can have.in spreading these ideas. I remember talking with a fellow here. He was involved in Students for Liberty France, and he was talking about how he was either ignored, or kind of seen as a scary figure

amongst many people in France, just because people have taken one line out of context and just ran with it. And so with the Great Triple H removal service page, the expanded on it, they made it a joke. People had fun with it, and really his ideas today, he's one of the great thinkers in this decentralized political structure environment, one that we desperately need, and so he is now being read more and more because meme magic. It's a beautiful thing. I've never quite appreciated the full intellectual firepower that memes have until this. It's pretty cool. . . He's one of the most dangerous thinkers in America, or in the world.

One of the things that is very interesting about Hoppe is that he agrees with Marxists on their view of class, and he says, what they get wrong though is this is not about the rich versus the poor, the capitalists versus the workers. This is about the state versus everyone else. The state is the uniquely parasitic thing. The state is the thing that has privileges that nobody else can enjoy. The state is the cause of so much misery and it's the state that amplifies the worst of humanity. You can look from that class conflict lense, but it is the state versus everybody else. That is something that Rothbard is consistent on, something that Hoppe is consistent on, and I really think this is something that the Mises Institute is unique in being consistent in that worldview (video at 20:50)

[Pickering] In conclusion, there's basically two kinds of people in economics. There's Austrian economists, and there's commies. And you know whose side you want to be on. So sign up to the Mises Institute's newsletters, think about heading on over to that event in New York, October, see the man himself, Hans Herman Hoppe.

[Bishop] It's the best way to avoid a future helicopter ride.

[Brown] Yea, exactly. Speaking of helicopter rides and the commies . . I'm sure you guys are aware of the recent emboldening of anti-fa[scists], and different communist groups like them, and the Cato Institute [laughter], just kidding. But there is a really hostile culture building around anti-capitalist sentiment, in conjunction with anti-white sentiments, social justice, and things like that. In essence, it leads to Marxism, socially, culturally and socialism, communism economically. What are your guys' thoughts in regards to market actions that people can probably take to respond to these things, because as you know, people who have platforms, like Lawrence Southern and a few other people are losing ad revenue on youtube and getting their livelihoods disbarred because they dared to say capitalism might be a pretty good thing that has built prosperous nations all across the planet, so maybe we should try this out instead of the thing that currently has Venezuelans scrambling the last monkey in the zoo to cook for barbeque. What are your thoughts on, before we get to helicopter rides, I guess some voluntary market actions that people can do to combat the rise of pro-commie propaganda?

[Bishop] Ultimately one of the most important things is developing alternatives to, it's so disappointing to see people like Mark Zuckerberg who creates a great product, gets rich

on the market, and uses that to promote this.. if Mark Zuckerberg was living in Anti-fa's dream world, he'd be the first with his head on a spike. That's always very disappointing to see. Chuck Johnson is a character himself, but I respect the fact that he built his own crowdfunding site to allow that for politically incorrect causes. The great thing is, when the left takes over a product, it creates an incentive to create a parallel product that doesn't dive into that PC, crap. And I think that is actually one of the biggest things that have hurt the libertarian movement, is that instead of actually trying to find ways to be productive, it's gotten more into attending the right conferences, networking.. rather than actually focusing on yourself. The best thing you could possibly do is find an actual skill that you can market. Don't try to get a job in the libertarian movement. Don't be a career libertarian. Find a skill. Get good at that skill. Make money. If you have money you can build the things that you need to avoid the commies out there. Because that's the one advantage we have, right. Peter Thiel is a much more powerful man than all of anti-fa combined. Following James Alsops workout routines also would help, because that's the other advantage there is, you know, if you have a stick man, I'm note quite concerned vet about any punches from anti-fa (video at 22:05)?

One of the things that makes Rothbard unique is that, he saw the appeal of populism, because you have to win over people in their guts. Right? Everyone should be pissed off at the Fed[eral Reserve]. People should have torches and pitchforks and surrounding the thing, because the reason why we have these big tech companies and the stock market going through the roof while normal people haven't seen that trickle down is because the way the Fed is screwing up the money supply. It's one of the most populist messages, and Ron Paul was the only one up in D.C. including all those other libertarian groups up there . . . So people should be angry. If you focus on more of your local issues. If you try to make the community around your more . . rational. Work within your community. Get them angry about the reasons they should be angry. Have them look at the state as the parasitic institute as they should. And if you surround yourself with good people, anti-fa is not going to have the success they've had." (video at 28:15)

There's two camps of libertarianism right now. There's the left libertarian and the right libertarian. and then you have the guys in D.C. who just you know, tweet out newsletters and, I don't know how they are making money, but they get like two retweets maybe a comment, but apparently they're making thousands per article, but I don't know. Koch money I guess. But as far as the libertarian culture, left libertarians, right libertarians, and there has been a really heavy debate centered around whether left libertarianism is taking a bad approach, if they're focusing too much on promoting egalitarianism and these more left leaning socially liberal, socially progressive ideals, trying to appeal to minorities, trying to basically turning libertarianism into an affirmative action program. Whereas the right libertarians tend to focus moreso on hard economics, hard libertarian principles in regards to freedom of association, freedom of speech, right to bare arms, basically all of the negative rights that people associate and attribute with the libertarian philosophy, and more or less ignore the social lefty stuff. You have some who are more

alt-right who say we need traditionalism, we need white sharia.. [Pickering] I'm all about it.

But aside from that, do you guys have any personal opinions in regards to how that feud is going and what's the right direction to take?

[Bishop] Yea, Brian Dougherty with Reason did a great job of describing it, where you have one branch of libertarianism that is "nice-itarianism," their whole goal is just, if we're nice to each other that should be the real goal of libertarianism, no discrimination, no bias, no pettiness, we're just going to sing kumbaya and work together, and we're going to be great. On the other side, the way Murray Rothbard saw libertarianism is at the end of the day it's really about property rights, that's what it all comes down to. You have life, liberty, your property, and on your property you get to set the rules that you want to set. For example, this comes in a great deal with the open borders, closed borders issue. You can be anti-open borders without being for closed borders. Immigration is a good thing, but you don't have to let everyone in. There is no freedom of movement. Nobody can just come onto my property without my permission if I don't want them to. So on your property, you get to set the rules that you want. If you want to discriminate, race, religion, if you're not going to let transexual troops into your piece of the world, within your property boundaries you get to set the rules. If you allow that, then there is no forcing certain values on other people, right? That's the real goal of it, because people have real differences. People will disagree, and so this utopian idea of a world where everyone is not going to have their own personal preferences and everyone is going to live in perfect harmony, it's not going to happen. Just don't force them to be together. There's nothing wrong with that. (video at 36:20)

[Bishop] One of the things that I do find very exciting within the movement, I think there was a time when this approach was the Mises Institute and Lewrockwell.com, and it's been alone. The rest of libertarianism, they thought the big way for mass appeal was talking about gay marriage and pot. There's nothing wrong with either of those things, but that's not going to change the world. You need something deeper than that, and basically now you have more people understanding the importance of property rights, understanding that this is not just nice-itarianism, people like yourself, people like libertyhangout, people like libertyconservative. There is a growing movement within the larger libertarian movement. I think the popularity of this approach has never been wider, and that's something I find very encouraging going forward. (video at 41:39)

[Bishop] If you're a libertarian organization afraid to talk about secession and nullification, if you are criticizing Brexit and worrying about the future of free trade in the UK the day after, rather than celebrating, the I don't know what to tell you. These are exciting things.

[Brown, sarcastically] My audience knows that we're a very progressive platform, you know, only super hard-right fascists want to succeed. Tell me that you guys don't want another holocaust, like is that the only reason you want to secede? That's the only reason anyone would want secession, right?

[Pickering] It depends on who's it were. I shouldn't say that. We're being recorded. I've got to keep my jokes under control.

[Bishop] Yea, and again, these are the conversations we should be having, and I think we're moving in that direction.

[Pickering] I've got to keep my jokes under control.

[Brown, to camera] By the way, everything here is not officially endorsed by the institute, we just have the coolest guys here. (video at 43:35)

[Brown] On the topic of the right libertarian movement, in particular, the alt-right. The alt-right in my opinion, this is something I've been focusing on a lot on my channel lately, because it is really one of the most interesting cultural phenomenons on the right happening right now. There's a lot of interesting things going on with them, not necessarily negative either. You know a lot of people say, aw the alt-right, they're all racists and things like that. But they also have some saner people in the movement, some of them used to be former ancaps, quite a bit actually. And there's also the most prominent figure in the alt-right, Richard Spencer used to be affiliated with Ron Paul, and the broader liberty movement. So a question that I want to get Richard on one day to ask specifically, but I'm curious if you guys have seen, what do you think the appeal of the alt-right is for the libertarian. Why do you think mainstream libertarianism is losing its base to the alt-right. What's the alt-right offer?

[Pickering] There's a very simple answer. A lot of these people jumped on board with the libertarian movement, I'm going to be completely honest here and blunt. A lot of these people jumped on board the libertarian movement during the Ron Paul thing they thought they were going to change the world overnight. They're flailing. They're panicking, and so they're forgetting about their principles and they're latching onto this movement that is basically white-bread leftism with some anti-immigration stuff peppered in. I mean you were at a Richard Spencer here in Auburn recently, and you know, tell us about his sterling right-wing economic credentials.

[Bishop] The thing is that, it's just boring. One of the issues that I always have is trying to define these terms. Because you know, you have Paul Gottfried who is talking about an alternative right, which was a unified conservative movement that rejected the D.C. status quo. You had a solid nation view, it was a bunch of sell-outs rather than a bunch of scholars. They despised the neo-cons. And I think with that movement, libertarianism fits well. Now when you combine this Richard Spencer white nationalism, which is genuine national socialism, well the economics doesn't just go out the window just be cause you have a white-ethnostate. You have to understand the actual principles of a civilization, right?...

Ludwig von Mises wrote a great article about liberty being a foundation for western civilization, and I think if you actually, some of the greatest thinkers in human history are from western civilization. It's not a coincidence. Liberty helps produce scholarship. It produces the ideas that are necessary to keep civilization alive. And so you can't ignore that, and that's what Richard Spencer has done. When he's out there praising Bernie Sanders and praising universal healthcare, again these things do not become okay just

because you live in an ethnostate. You need to start with the basics, and that I think is the biggest issue within the movement. Now, you have people within the alt-right that are good at economics, that understand the importance of trade, of entrepreneurship, well if they want to identify themselves with the alt-right, then whatever, it's a movement that's exciting because there was this shallowness to a lot of libertarian organizations out there, and I think the Mises Institute can play an important role by offering the substance needed to really change the world. And so if you are sick and tired of talking about pot and gay marriage, well then the Mises Institute can point you in the direction of ideas that you really should be focusing on. (video at 44:52)

[Pickering] Yea, exactly. It's true. There are intellectual people on the alt-right. If you break out the dowsing rods you can find one or two of them. But for the most part, it's true that there are some people on the alt-right who understand economics. The alt-rightists I've interacted with online, many of the base of the new movement that has sort of sprung up, they're not only ignorant of economics. They're openly disdainful of economics. They think they're making some great point when they say, well 'don't you know there are more important things than money?' Yea, you're knocking me on my ass with that one, Nietzsche. Thanks a lot. So these people, as long as they fail to understand these insights of economics, they will never understand why they like western civilization, why it's been so successful, and what are the things really attacking it. It was people like Mises, you know, he wasn't just some ivory tower intellectual, or some universalist. He was this-

[Bishop] Shhhh

[Pickering] Oh yes, well, eh. [to himself] Rothbard? Oh no? Well.. Ayn Rand? Oh no? Well..

[Bishop] Hoppe's good, so...

[Pickering] Yes, the first non-Jewish libertarian in history.

[Brown] [to camera] Hoppe makes up for it all guys, granted, these are honorary base Jews, you know, so these are the good..

[Pickering] You know, I can understand these people's anger at the antifas of the world and things like that. I can even understand certain of their objectives even if I don't agree with all of them. But they simply will never accomplish what they're setting out to do if they disdain economics, if they disdain all of the insights of the libertarian movement. Yea, Richard Spencer? He's just a leftist. And it's the same with a lot of the alt-right people who have just come to the movement recently. I'm not talking about the people who have been writing about this stuff intellectually for years, but a lot of the people who have come into the alt-right recently, they're just a bunch of center-leftists, who google image searched a jpeg of the sistine chapel once and decided it made them a defender of western civilization. They're just a bunch of idiots. (video at 49:12)

[Bishop] And the real stupidity here, just think of it from a basic tactical perspective. Let's take Richard Spencer seriously for a second. His real goal is to achieve the sort of civilization that he talks about. Then the solution is secession, right? Just like we're

talking about. If he wants to go to Whitefish Montana and have them secede, and have this white ethnostate, draw a line around them and set up his own rules, then fine, whatever. Libertarians are not going to stop that. We're not going to care. [Brown] If your goal is to propagate and sustain the white race, and to make sure we have as many white babies as possible running around America, then it's probably not a good idea to promote policies that directly redistribute wealth from majority white populations to more ethnic diverse populations that are coming into America to receive the gifts.

[Pickering] Melanin-enabled.

[Brown] Yea, there you go.

[Bishop] You know if the focus is IQ or stuff like that, then first thing you should want to do is get rid of the welfare state [Brown: "and public schools!"]. Again, the market creates a meritocracy, it rewards being a high IQ individual. If you treat them for a second from their perspective, and if you take them seriously. If they actually want to achieve what they claim they want to achieve, well then decentralization is the way to achieve that. Again, let us have Ancapistan over here. There's not going to be conflict. If they can't see that, then it's a superficial flamboyant, this race to see who can be edgiest first, and that's lame. (video at 51:17)

[Pickering] Even if you agree with these people's' views, what they are talking about when they refer to western civilization is a genuinely exceptional thing in history. But, like ninety-nine point pi percent of everyone who talks about politics or considers themselves interested in politics, they know what they don't like, they don't really know what they're aiming for and why they like it. Just even on their own terms, they are sabotaging themselves by their disdain for the insights of economics and things like that. They won't understand what made western civilization so exceptional and how to preserve it, and how to stop all these things that are attacking it as long as they openly disdain economics. (video at 53:14)

Immigration, the more things that have been happening on your side of the pond, have led to a lot of really interesting cultural dialogue and you know, areas of importance that people are focusing on that hint heavily, I think, at decentralization, because the state especially in western europe and things like that, the state is completely screwing over the people. Like Merkel is giving, Germany is basically half owned by Turkey, half owned by Merkel, in conjunction together. Soon enough, I think Ethiopia is going to get their fair share. There's a lot of different innovations that are happening right now. I don't know if you guys are familiar with the Defend Europe campaign? It's basically a, you guys may have known, it's a think Lawrence Suthers (?) has been working with. It's essentially a market means to address the function of immigration control that the government is just completely ignoring, or actively you know, to bring in more migrants with NGO boats and smugglers conflicting, things like that. And to me, that's really cool. Even if you're open borders libertarian, even if you're like 'I want everybody in arbitrary lines,' freedom of movement, public property, it's okay if we have a little bit of communism stuff, even if you

take that premise, if you want a privatized military, which would exist in ancapistan [Pickering] nods and pumps fist triumphantly], this type of thing, a private alternative, a private means of enforcing law, legitimate law, even if you disagree with it, a private means of enforcing what the state (inaudible), I think it's a really cool idea. I was wondering if you guys, like what are your guys' thoughts on the whole migrant crisis leading people to question the state more, especially in Europe where I think it's heavily needed, and leading to the rise of more right wing populism, more nationalism? [Bishop] You know, it's changed my view a great deal, because it used to be 'all immigration is always and ever a good thing.' Well, not when it's government subsidized migration. (video at 54:10). Borders would exist with or without the state. The key is privatizing the borders in an ideal world. . . (video at 57:25)

[Pickering] When you have the state subsidizing people, they're going to find a way to get the money, regardless of whether it means in the case of immigration, or in the case of people setting up their businesses specifically to get corporate welfare and these sorts of things, it's going to happen. I think this whole immigration thing is a classic case where there are a lot of people who have become attracted to the alt-right, not necessarily because they are all on board for creating the ethnostate, or because the spend their evenings pouring over IQ charts or anything like that, but because they have this, they see terrorist attacks going on, and they long for some kind of policy they can pursue in order to stop that sort of thing happening. That's a perfectly legitimate thing to want to do, but it's a classic instance of where the alt-right would significantly benefit from an understanding of economics and from the insights of the libertarian movement, more generally. You know, to steal a line from Ron Paul, government can't keep drugs out of prison, if there are a couple of jihadis that want to get into an entire land mass, they're going to get in. So pursuing, thinking we're going to prevent terrorist attacks by having closed borders is to overlook the insight that government is just terrible at everything it does. There should be, people should pursue private solutions to these problems. People need to think outside the box in order to defend themselves. I think the prime minister of the Czech republic is one of the people in Europe who is saying, he issued some sort of press release a few months ago where said, you know, if the Czech people want to defend themselves from possible terrorist attacks, the thing they should do is buy personal defense weapons, and that's going to have a significantly greater ability to prevent you from being killed in a terrorist attack that the false belief that the government's going to be able to build a wall around your entire country and effectively people out. It's just not practical, the economics of it don't work out, it's not going to happen. So, that's a classic example of like, regardless of whether you agree with what the alt-right is trying to achieve, even by their own terms, their failure to understand economics means they won't possibly be able to achieve what they mean to achieve through that manner. (video at 1:00:40)

[Brown, question from livestream] Does immigration and diversity galvanize the majority to support liberty because they don't like subsidizing other groups with big government. [Pickering] Messaging. People's immediate reaction to that is not necessarily going to be, 'well we've got this immigration problem, my first response is end the welfare state,'

but that's just a matter of, people are not going to magically jump to the right conclusions if the ideas aren't out there circulating in the zeitgeist within easy reach. People's immediate gut reaction to observing poverty might be, 'well the state needs to solve it,' but it doesn't always have to be that way, if the correct ideas are circulating out there, and people have them to grasp onto, they may very well come to the correct conclusion, and that's why places like the Mises Institute, which are primarily focused in education on these matters, and you know, asking people to question their gut reaction to these sorts of things and think more deeply on it is so important, so yea, I think if people have the right ideas, then yea, end the welfare state [pumps fist] (video at 1:03:44) [Bishop] That's one of the issues. We're always looking for a silver bullet. What's the best way of getting stupid people to do the right things, and, it's difficult to do. I mean, to a certain degree, especially because of where the world is now, in order to, the effort to actually roll things back either requires a mass movement aware that free stuff isn't always a good thing, or it requires a crisis and building it from there. Those are the only two options. There isn't a shortcut. So, there are some critics of immigration that say it would be impossible to end the welfare state with more immigration. If people coming over are entirely on the government dole, then yea, it doesn't help. But we have plenty of native americans, american born people, on the welfare state. Majority of voters, or a lot of voters, are somehow benefiting from government, in one way or another, so they have to be working against their perceived self interest too in that sort of formula. (video at 1:04:41)

[Pickering] I think in terms of getting people to do the right thing, if we're going to rely on the fact that, well for our ideal system, everyone needs to be a Ph.D. in economics, it's not going to happen. And this is one of the reasons why Austrian economics as we look at it in the Mises Institute is so much better than other free-market schools. I remember Walter Block, a great Austrian economist who is teaching here at the Mises U this week, he once asked Milton Friedman who was a representative of the Chicago School of economics, another putatively free market school, he said to Milton Freidman, 'what inspires your passion for justice?' thought it was a joke question, 'What passion for justice? This is just about economic efficiency.' from his point of view. Whereas in Austrian economics, and in the corner of libertarianism inspired by Austrian economics, it's about the NAP (Non-aggression principle), it's about not holding a gun to people's head to try to order them around to try to create your utopia, and that has much more emotional appeal to people. I think that's why it's not enough just be free market, it's not enough to just be, you know 'I'm vaguely sympathetic to these ideas.' There's a particular way of thinking about it that will have the most appeal in that regard (video at 1:06:12)

And South America I think is very interesting. I've talk to many libertarians, young libertarians, and I ask them how did you get involved in this? In most of the cases, it's been through some sort of meme. Meme magic is real. I wrote an article on Mises.org on Ludwig von Mises understood meme magic. You understand that memes communicate ideas, which they do. And if you see the world as Mises did, that ideas shape the society we live in, well then, memes are a weaponized form of ideas in this regard. . .In South

America, it's very much a counter-culture thing there, right? And fortunately, I think you're seeing this with the generation after the official millennials thing, you're seeing a rightward reaction there to this insane culture that we have right now, and so hopefully, we can have some more impact there. More people are reading Hans Hoppe today, because of a meme-page on Facebook. That is a beautiful thing, and something we should be excited about. (video at 1:07:28)

[Brown, to the camera] Just in case Hoppe's book sells out on Amazon, you can also get it at the Mises library, correct?

[Bishop] Democracy the God that Failed, we actually don't have on the site, because that was published by someone else. But we do have a ton of Hoppe books, articles, lectures, if you want your fill of Hoppe, we've got him.

[Pickering] And almost all of it's free on our website, Mises.org. You could go onto that site and die before you've read everything (video at 1:08:42)

[Brown, reading livestream question] He says, 'I considered myself libertarian before I went alt-right,' lost another one, 'we're good guys. I'll gladly throw commies out of helicopters with you.' Appreciate that. 'Other than Paul Rand,' Rand Paul I assume, 'are there any other libertarians I should know about in the Republican party?' (video at 1:09:22)

[Brown, reading livestream comment] Fireproof Troll finishing us off with, 'Pinochet did nothing wrong."

[Pickering] Who could disagree with that?

[Bishop] I actually find it funny. It's like, Hoppe-ian snake memes is all about Pinochet, great helicopter stuff, but F. A. Hayek was actually the Austrian that was the most, the greatest defender of Pinochet. So they should really be Hayek-ian snake memes. [Pickering] Exactly, and Hayek is considered one of the most 'safe for work' Austrians. He's the one you can namedrop if you're a centrist politician, and yet he was the one defending Pinochet. All the people on the [live]stream can't see that T is actually wearing a helicopter-shaped lapel pin. Good look. (video at 1:26:31)

I think a lot of conservatives who are interested in balanced budgets above all else would sort of be forced into supporting austerity policies because of their desire for balanced budgets. But I mean if you're a libertarian, a balanced budget is okay I guess but that's definitely not the end goal. If I had the option to cut all taxes to zero tomorrow and leave me with an unbalanced budget, then do it, and then you'd pay for the stuff with debt, then you renege on the debt, and Ancapistan! When?

[Brown] Yea, now. (video at 1:35:35)

[Brown] A big youtuber. . . has recently taken a shift from what I considered pretty far left economic theory to a much more classical liberal approach, more Chicago school. He read Hayek and now he understands that maximum income levels aren't a good idea. Also, my other friend. . .making a shift from the left to a more classical liberal perspective, lower government, lower taxes. However, not a lot of people are ready to make the full plunge into hardcore Austrianism, ancap, you know even if you don't accept the moral stuff, the NAP [Non-Aggression Principle] and everything, but just the economics of the matter. Why would you argue that someone should exceed the

Chicago school or things like that, or like american paleo-con, and just go full Austrian? Why go to Rothbard levels of pro-capitalism, v.s. a little bit of small government, a little bit of small regulation here and there?

[Bishop] Well, it's more right.

[Pickering] First things first. It's a good thing that these people have come, even thogh they are not on exactly the same page as us. People here that subscribe to Austrian economics and anarchocapitalism to the nth degree, it's like they're on a train going to the final destination, and these people can come with us as far as they want, and we'll be glad to have them with us, but . . the older someone gets, the less likely they are to completely shift their ideological spectrum, that's fine. . .I think the reason a lot of people come to this position which, you don't sort of just roll out of the womb an ancap. This is something everybody has to gradually . . It's just a process of inquiry. You find out something about the way the state works, and you think this doesn't work, and you start moving in that direction. And if you have an inquiring mind, you're going to ask the right question because you're gradually headed in that direction. And I think it's the case for all of us. Lots of people who are now in this sort of position were sticking around in that classical liberal space for a long time, and each have their own reason why they took the plunge. What was it for you?

[Brown] To take the plunge into full ancap? I think the only thing that held me up was, I understood the roads stuff, and like stuff, I think the only thing that held me up was military defense. I got over the monopoly question pretty quickly. I think it was military defense. Like you said, just asking the right questions. Constantly getting berated by other ancaps on Twitter, not saying it's a good tactic guys, but it worked on me. (video at 1:37:07)

[Pickering] I had the opposite experience. When I was just a minarchist, a small government libertarian, I encountered ancaps on the internet, and I thought they were so obnoxious, fully convinced that I would have become an ancap much sooner if it weren't for these wretched people. And now I'm one of them. . . The thing that did it for me, maybe this will resonate with people. I was a small government guy. I thought that the correct thing for government to do should be courts, police, military. And all this stuff like, well 'who would build the roads?' and 'how would the military be organized in a private society?' Those are all economic questions that can come afterwards, and you can work them out for yourself. I think the important thing is to grasp the moral guestion. The question I asked myself was, okay, let's say we're living in a small government society, rights respecting government that only does military, courts, and police, taxation is voluntary if you can call that taxation, my ideal society back when I was a minarchist. And I thought, what if I, instead of patronizing the government military, I decided that my friend Jim could protect my property better, and I decided not to pay my money to the government and just to patronized Jim's security service instead. Would the government be within its rights in that minarchist society to hold a gun to my head and tell me 'you can't do that.' I couldn't answer in the affirmative and say the government has the right to do that at that point, and it's that that pushed me over into thinking, okay, I can see the morality of it now, so I can work out the economics of precisely how it would all fit

together afterwards. (video at 1:39:56)

[Bishop] One of the most difficult issues for me was actually courts. And actually, there's a wonderful book, I think it's one of the most useful ones on the topic, Private Governance by Ed Stringham. It's great. When you stop thinking of things in this purely courtroom sort of thing. He goes into the history of PayPal, and what really made PayPal take off is because, it found a way to solve the issue of fraudulent transactions. It was plaguing everyone, and you couldn't have the court system back you up because they didn't understand the technology in the first place, and they're not going to track down some guy in the Ukraine that defrauded your money. It wasn't going to happen, it was beyond their reach. So a lot of people are getting screwed over by that. And so PayPal made the verification things that they needed. And so this is actually a way of combating fraud, it's so natural, you don't even think about it. And so there are all these kind of ways that can actually solve these problems. . . As far as recommendations on helping people get that last step, Anatomy of the State by Murray Rothbard. It's a short read, but a laser focused read. I think that's one of those books where (inaudible) lot's of people say that's the book that really kind of opened their eyes. . . Building off of what George says, if you want to be a minarchist, I really have no objection to that. In Liberalism, Mises talks about decentralization. Mises was not an anarchist. He was a minarchist. He was a proud statist. He saw legitimacy in a watchman state, but he understood the moral argument down to succession to the individual level. He just thought it was impractical to have all those state functions. .and at the time, [it was] probably true. Technology allows for stuff that wasn't possible to think of back then. You might have a large community that prefers to have a monopoly on security. If it's a community that's all policed by a single defense contractor, for example, well then at that point it's essentially a government, right? You're paying, they call it a fee rather than a tax. It's a de-facto government entity if there's a monopoly around it, right? There's nothing wrong with that. But there really should be no conflict between a minarchist and an anarchist because an anarchist isn't going to invade and force its stateless society on the minarchist community next to them. Nor would a minarchist community, if it was a real minarchist community, enforce their state on their anarchist neighbors. And so we could have this entire world of competing territories, competing sovereignties where you have your ancapistan living in harmony with Richard Spencer's Whitefish. That's the beauty of political decentralization. It allows competition in civil society, and it allows individual to actually solve the problems that we are talking about no matter how big or how small they are. And so, we don't need a world where everyone's an ancap. We just need a world where Ancapistan is allowed to exist in the first place, outside of social media. (video at 1:41:43)

[Bishop] Someone who I'd really recommend looking as his stuff, because he's not an academic, the President Jeff Deist. He has a way of communicating and talking about these ideas that anyone should be able to get on board with. Fascinating speaker. Fascinating thinker. I'm not just saying that because he signs my paycheck. I mean it's totally self-serving but his view on the world as it is today is something genuinely not just

intelligent but interesting. So I'd recommend looking at his articles, his talks. He's doing something on Friday where he's actually skyping into a conference in Malta where Hoppe himself will actually be speaking. [Deist] is going to be talking about, For a New Libertarian, and basically talking about how libertarians should look at the world as is now and where to go forward, and I think that's going to be something that a lot of people, whether you're alt-right, whether you're a minarchist, whether you're a libertarian, even if you're a socialist. I think that you'll find, you'll have to think because of his talk. And check out his writings. He's one of the more interesting libertarian thinkers out there right now. I can't suggest it enough. (video at 1:46:23)